

# Washington's and London's

which give good starting points for big advances later.

In the East, Russia has only a ghost of an army, which may soon become worse than none, but Germany is not taking advantage of the opportunity there. Perhaps she is too short on men, perhaps she fears the hardship of a further penetration into Russia, and perhaps she still clings to the hope of a secret peace. In any case, the German might be expected to encourage the situation, but they do not. Is it because Germany wants peace more than any other territory?

## President Limits War to the Issue Of German Freedom

By C. W. Gilbert

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—The general impression here is that the President's note to the Pope raises an issue which cannot be compromised and that a long war will ensue. No one attempts to say what a "long war" means in terms of years or months. What is in every one's mind is that the present peace efforts are plainly abortive, and that it will take time for Mr. Wilson's alternative—the Kaiser and war or self-government and peace—to sink into the German national consciousness, or into that of the Hohenzollerns themselves, and produce its effect.

One Republican Senator put it with evocative satisfaction, "The President could not have drawn a harder or faster line than he did."

In general there was pleasure that a single plain and unmistakable issue had been made. This issue is a sterner and more concrete one than the Allies have ever ventured to make before. Its effect is to harden their purposes.

All calculations upon how the raising of this issue will affect the German people enter into the uncertain realms of national psychology, where all is guessing and guessing influenced by a bias where the psychology of an enemy is concerned.

**Liberality Influence Not Known.**

The State Department has no information upon which to base any conclusions as to the importance of the liberal movement in Germany, and there is good reason to believe that it does not count too seriously upon this movement or upon the economic distress among the people as factors making for a change of government and thus for peace.

All the lessons of the war so far have been that the powers of national endurance are much greater than any one supposed, and the capacity everywhere to fight on even now is probably still much greater than surface indications of weariness and want would indicate.

It is expected that the immediate effect of the President's note will be to strengthen the Kaiser's position with his people. There are many reasons for this. The natural resentment of a people who believe they have had all the best of the war so far at having a stern and uncompromising condition of peace offered to them will be enough to move its war spirit anew.

Moreover, the government controls the means for forming public opinion and will use them to offset what will be styled an insolent demand that the German people remake their government at the dictation of a foreign power. The final influence of the President's note will be felt only after this first reaction wears off.

**Limited Monarchy May Result**

In the mean time it is not to be overlooked that it may affect the Hohenzollern dynasty as soon and as powerfully as it affects the German people themselves. The President does not expressly demand the deposition of the ruling family. Apparently a limited monarchy like that of England may satisfy his conditions.

To save the throne for his son the Kaiser, as the war goes on, may be impelled to change the government of the country himself. But no one here expects him to yield quickly or the German people to respond quickly to Mr. Wilson's terms. The German people and the German Kaiser think very much alike. That is one reason why Europe is drenched in blood. A change in the point of view of either of them will be slow work. That is why the general verdict is a long war.

The only criticism heard here is that the note is too vague in details. Probably it was intended to be indefinite upon every point except upon the one demanding such guarantees for the future as can only be obtained through substituting popular government for a military oligarchy in Germany—and even here the question whether the Kaiser must be deposed or not is left to be interpreted one way or other, according as the fortunes of war may go.

In being indefinite upon territorial changes and other international matters, Mr. Wilson evidently desired to concentrate all attention upon the one demand that the German people set their house in order so that their neighbors could live alongside them in peace and confidence. Had he said also you must give up Alsace-Lorraine there would have been two issues to discuss.

**Attention Focused on One Big Issue**

An indemnity to Belgium would raise another. And so on through the list of other vexing questions among which hitherto the main issue of the war has tended to get lost to sight.

The effect of America's entrance into the war has been to fix attention upon the one big issue, that no military oligarchy be left at the end of this fighting in a position to plunge the nations of the earth into world-wide conflict again, and upon that only. Beside this all other questions become subsidiary. Our assertion of this one great issue in an uncompromising form, it is felt in all circles here, will have a great moral effect in Europe, not only among our Allies, but also in Germany.

In connection with the uncompromising language of the note insisting upon democracy in Germany, it is interesting to know that several days ago one of the leading diplomats in Washington sent word to his government that no where among the foes of Germany was the determination to fight the war to a real conclusion stronger than it was in the White House. His observation agrees with that of every one here.

Since he entered the war Mr. Wilson has become a war man as he was a peace man when he was determined to keep America out of war. The explanation appears to lie deep in his psychology. One naturally thinks of the "single track mind" or it may be that his interest in nations method, but in results, the big result being,

whatever the approach, final peace and safety among nations.

Whatever it is, this diplomat's observation and that of Washington in general as pertinent to the sternest and most uncompromising statement of war aims that any enemy of Germany has yet ventured.

**New Note Reveals a New Wilson**

The study of the Wilson psychology is one of the pursuits of the Capitol. Experts say that the new note reveals a new Wilson, with its style suggesting less of the study than the office, harder and less leisurely, precisely as the war has hardened Wilson himself. But here we go into a land of haze. Suffice it to say that the general belief is that the President means war until a definite end is achieved more surely than would any one in the anti-German combination.

The note will leave the peace proponents in the same difficulties. The resolutions will come up shortly. The war Senators will take the lead. Mr. Wilson and the pacifists will have to defend the idea of making peace with a faithless treaty-breaking oligarchy and of leaving it in a position to drench the world with blood at its pleasure.

The debate and the vote will serve as emphasis to the position Mr. Wilson has taken. It will be impressive abroad.

## Wilson's Stand May End Entente's Reprisal Plan

(Staff Correspondence)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—President Wilson's statement in his reply to the Pope that "no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others" was believed here to-day to forecast the abandonment of the war-after-the-war plan of the Entente powers, agreed upon at the Allies' Paris economic conference, for the punishment of Germany after the conclusion of peace.

The same declaration was held by diplomats to be an unmistakable condemnation of the European balance of power, imposing political restrictions upon some nations for the advantage of others and based upon superior physical might rather than any principle of right or justice.

One omission in the note shared attention with a clearly defined American position in opposition to European political and economic restrictions. Wilson failed to make any reference to a league to enforce peace. The statement was made in a well informed quarter to-day that the President's ideas concerning the proposed league of nations had been modified in the last few months.

**Not in Favor of Armed Force**

It is said he is inclining toward the view that an international league to avoid war should be a tribunal of jurists for the settlement of disputes, without power to resort to armed force. The President's decision leaving the enforcement of compliance with its decrees to the public opinion of the world. The President stated that the wrongs done by Germany in this war ought to be repaired, but that "punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues" would be expedient and in the end worse than futile. "No proper basis for a peace of any kind," he said, "can be found in any kind of passage defining the limits of its application was obtainable, but it was not taken to mean that the President would oppose the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Serbia nor the expulsion of Turkey from Europe. "Dismemberment" was interpreted unofficially to mean the splitting up of Germany into independent principalities, isolating Prussia from her sister states.

The President's reference to Russia pleased Russian diplomats here, who believe it will exert a wholesome influence upon both the Russian Provisional Government and the Russian people.

It was suggested to-day that the President's note should be distributed within the German lines by American and Allied aviators, as was done with the President's war address to Congress, which the German government withheld from the German public for a long time. It is believed that one of the objects of President Wilson in writing the note to the Pope was to appeal to the reason of the German people and encourage the popular movement in that country for parliamentary and ministerial reforms.

**Wilson's Stand Made Clear**

It is expected that Pope Benedict will either readress the belligerents or have the Foreign Office of the Vatican issue a statement after the receipt of all the replies to his encyclical. President Wilson, however, has left the Pope in no doubt concerning the only avenue open to peace for the Central Powers, and there is no likelihood, officials here believe, that Berlin and Vienna will immediately avail themselves of this way of avoiding surrender without condition.

President Wilson's reply will discourage a renewal of peace overtures from any source other than the Central Powers, here, diplomats here believe.

The reply of the Allies to the Pope is expected to fall short of the principles enunciated in the President's note, which principles have not yet won the place in European statesmanship, except in the new Russian democracy, that they hold in America.

Officials here have refrained from giving any hint of the contents of the British reply, which has been completed and is being withheld from publication until the dispatch of the American note, it now being generally admitted that the President is the spokesman for Germany's enemies.

## Wilson's Prompt Reply to Vatican Surprised Entente

(By The Associated Press)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—Discussion of President Wilson's rejection of the Pope's peace proposals in diplomatic circles to-day revealed that even some of the Entente governments were unprepared for the prompt fashion in which the President disposed of a matter of such tremendous importance.

There had been no doubt at any time as to the general nature of the reply, and the understanding is that the United States was generally looked upon as the nation to speak first, but some of the Allied foreign offices, accustomed to long-drawn-out moves in diplomacy, regarded the exchanges that had been going on between Washington and the Vatican as a matter of course. They had rather expected further discussion of the time for dispatching replies.

It was realized, however, by the Entente powers, that in Washington, President Wilson must have had some good and sufficient reason for acting so quickly. Speculation ascribes the motive to a desire to impress favorably the great Russian convention at Moscow, while that body still

was in a plastic and receptive state. It also was suggested that the President might have wished to anticipate by his remarkable state paper obstructive action by the pacific elements in and out of Congress in the United States.

**Early Reply Not Expected.**

No rejoinder from the Vatican is expected here soon. Some of the press of Europe, including Germany and Austria, is awaited with interest. Bitter attacks upon the American note by the German press and possibly condemnatory speeches by German officials are fully expected. But the President's reply is finally allowed to leak through the censors to the German public. But for the present, at least, no further attempts at peace negotiations on the old basis are expected, and a continuance in power of the present autocratic German regime, is anticipated.

While the Germans may wage war with added desperation because of the sweeping indictment of their methods, it is confidently believed here that the spirit of revolt will develop steadily and rapidly among the people in Germany, bringing nearer the day when they will assert themselves as a nation. The President's reply will feel safe in listening to peace overtures, in the conviction that they are from the German people themselves and not from the overlords and military despots.

President Wilson realizes the force of objection from some quarters to what might be regarded as a disposition on his part to impose a form of government on Germany. It can be said that nothing was further from his thought than such a disposition. He meant just what he said in the note, that the word of the present autocratic rulers of Germany cannot be taken for anything but a bluff, unless supported by the will of the people themselves. With whether Germany has an imperial or a republican form of government, it is conceded that the remainder of the world has nothing to do.

**Watching for Reform Signs**

The struggle for Parliamentary reform is being watched with the keenest interest, and while it was said at the State Department to-day that no official advice as yet at hand regarding the developments, it would not cause surprise if there were sudden and important changes in the German government. Signs of such an outcome are found in the half-way efforts of Premier Michaelis to meet the demands of the Reichstag committee by his projected Cabinet, representative of the more powerful political parties in Germany, certainly a long step in the direction of Parliamentary control of the government.

The German-Argentine negotiations, insincere and hollow as they are believed to be on the part of Germany, are viewed officially here as another evidence of the German desire for peace. It shows clearly that President Wilson has no delusions whatsoever as to the real meaning of the Pope's pronouncements. If carried out, the Pope's proposal would enable Germany at some future time, when the peoples are again lulled to sleep, to renew its attempts to dominate world freedom.

"The Daily Mail" in an editorial on President Wilson's reply to the Pope under the caption, "The Pope's Message to the Kaiser," says:

"President Wilson's reply to the Pope's peace proposal has the spirit of a point of view which has been learned during the last six months to look for all his utterances on the war. The United States entered the struggle for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, and with the conviction that the only way to peace was through democracy so long as an ambitious, intriguing, irresponsible government held the German people in its grip."

**His Words Unmistakable**

"President Wilson reiterates both his purpose and conviction. In a few words, but unmistakable, he declares that the Pope's suggestion for a general restoration of the status quo ante would enable Germany to repeat a few years hence her attempt to dominate the world and would involve the creation of a permanent hostile league to keep her in check."

The paper quotes from President Wilson's reply: "We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, and passages of similar tenor, and adds: 'The utter disbelief of the American people in the possibility that the Hohenzollern system can ever reform itself.'"

"The Daily Chronicle" declares that the fact that President Wilson has the distinction of being the first head of a belligerent state to reply to the Pope "may serve to remind us that America is unfettered in the war by alliances, and though she is fighting with the Allies, it is not so deeply concerned in the issues of the conflict as the countries of Europe are, and consequently retains something of her former character of arbitrariness."

"Thus," continues the paper, "all of her war pronouncements have a value of their own, to which those issuing from London, Berlin, Paris and Vienna cannot lay claim."

**Righteous Anger in Reply**

The "Chronicle" asserts that such a reply from the most disinterested of all the states at war will make the Allies but also from the Democracies, free and not free, throughout the world. The "Chronicle" adds:

"The resounding proclamation which comes from the White House of the right and the reality of wrong and of the impossibility of reconciling them or shading them into one another by good-natured words might well be issued from the Vatican, the ancient repository of Christian morality, and the reality of right and wrong, and the reality of the world. The 'Chronicle' adds:

"After citing President Wilson's introduction of Germany's rulers, the 'Chronicle' says:

"This terrible judgment gains its eloquence from no fine phrasing, but flows from the fountains of noble wrath behind it, which the head of the Christian church might honorably covet."

# Views of Reply to the Pope

## Wilson Note Applauded By Socialists in Britain

"Only Reasonable Ground for Peace," Is Labor Leader's Statement—Newspaper Comment Is Generally Favorable

(By The Associated Press)

LONDON, Aug. 29.—President Wilson's note has apparently created a profound impression on the British Socialist groups, which have been conferring on the question of sending delegates to Stockholm to discuss peace by negotiation. Although Arthur Henderson, the labor leader, and many others, declined to express their opinion, on the ground that they had not had time to digest the note, all were deeply interested. Even the extreme pacifists were not willing to express disapproval of it.

George James Wardle, Labor Member of the House of Commons, declared that President Wilson had taken a very high ground—"the only reasonable ground on which the future peace of the world can be guaranteed."

He added: "Until the German people are prepared to disown the government under which they now live, there are little prospects of any peace which will not be more preparation for another and a worse war."

**Urges a Conference**

James Ramsay MacDonald, Socialist and Labor Member of Parliament, said that President Wilson ought to see that by some conference, such as that at Stockholm, the German people could be directly approached; otherwise the Allied governments would simply speak to the German people at long distance and in words which they would regard rightly or wrongly, as a menace, and that the German people would continue to identify themselves with their rulers.

"President Wilson's position," he added, "then means a war of attrition in a most horrible, devastating form."

Henry W. Hyndman, leader of the British Socialists, characterized the note as "an extremely powerful, dignified and permanent document," adding: "It shows clearly that President Wilson has no delusions whatsoever as to the real meaning of the Pope's pronouncements. If carried out, the Pope's proposal would enable Germany at some future time, when the peoples are again lulled to sleep, to renew its attempts to dominate world freedom."

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## Delbrueck Hits At Chancellor Book "Prussian Year Tongued"

Editor of "Prussian Year Book" Calls Him "Two-Tongued"

COPENHAGEN, Aug. 29.—Attacks upon the German Imperial Chancellor, Georg Michaelis, continue. Professor Hans Delbrueck now asks the Chancellor an embarrassing question concerning peace.

In the Prussian Year Book Delbrueck inquires of Dr. Michaelis why, if he really accepts the Reichstag resolution as the basis of his policy, he neglects to answer the inquiry made on July 26 in the English House of Commons by the former Premier Asquith. The latter asked if Germany were willing to evacuate Belgium and restore its independence, besides making reparation.

Delbrueck openly questions the good faith of the Chancellor. He asks whether Michaelis's silence, in the face of Mr. Asquith's summons, does not show that those are right who insist that Michaelis takes another stand-point from that contained in the resolution.

**Reichstag Powerless**

"If the German government is ready to conclude a peace upon the basis of no annexations and no indemnities," says the professor, "why all this unprecedented apparatus of a joint committee of the Reichstag and Bundesrat to assist the Chancellor in drawing up a simple answer to the Pope's proposal of peace on that basis?"

The truth is, says Delbrueck, Dr. Michaelis does not enjoy the confidence of the Reichstag. Neither the German nation nor the world knows what the Chancellor's policy is, he declares.

The Reichstag's resolution, Professor Delbrueck concludes, would have had a different effect if it was not believed abroad that the Reichstag is powerless and that the Chancellor is double-tongued.

**Reform Plan Attacked.**

The "Staats-Zeitung," the Munich organ of the Bavarian government, publishes a Berlin communication against the introduction of a parliamentary regime in Germany as opposed to the federative character of the Empire. The "Staats-Zeitung" declares that all the Federal states undoubtedly share the view expressed by the Central speaker in the Reichstag who said that his party welcomed the Chancellor's policy.

The article says the Reichstag in its present form, although without the right of parliamentary domination, has met all patriotic requirements; completely and more satisfactorily than the British and French Parliaments have met the needs of their countries.

## Morgenstern Visits Front

WITH THE BRITISH ARMY IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS, Aug. 29.—Henry Morgenstern, former American Ambassador to Turkey, has just completed a short trip to the British front, where he observed operations along the actual fighting line.

## Berlin's Pledges Keep Argentina Out of the War

Lansing Points Out That Promises Are Like Those to United States

**Success for Germany**

Diplomats Succeed in Placating Buenos Ayres—People Pro-Ally

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—Any hope felt here that Argentina would support the Allied nations in their war against Germany virtually has been abandoned, as a result of the German government's success in satisfying the demands of the Buenos Ayres Foreign Office in connection with the sinking of the little Argentine sailing craft Toro.

Germany's agreement to pay indemnities for ships sunk and promises not to destroy other ships under the Argentine flag caused Secretary Lansing to point out to-day that the imperial government had made a greater promise to the United States and then had broken her word.

Examination of the facts indicate, however, that Germany will not be embarrassed by keeping this latest promise, because Argentina has no mercantile marine engaged in transatlantic trade. The whole controversy has impressed some officials here as hollow, and its result is viewed as a point scored for Germany. Its only effect will be to insure the neutrality of the South American country, whose importance is exceeded by none, unless it be Brazil.

**Captain Von Pappen Active**

The outcome has created no great surprise here. Since Brazil and a few other South American nations aligned themselves against the methods of Germany, agents of the Kaiser are known to have been unceasing in their activities in Buenos Ayres. Captain von Pappen, former military attaché here, whose withdrawal was requested because of his unneutral acts, now is at the Argentine capital, where he is said to be directing his country's propaganda.

It became known to-day that a large part of the German money that was in American banks at the beginning of the war, and which was transferred to Argentine Banks, some of this money has been invested there, but most of it is merely held on account.

**Embarrassment for Brazil**

Argentina's position may prove an embarrassment to Brazil, her neighbor to the north. Brazil is at war, although no declaration of the fact has been made. Her fleet is patrolling the South Atlantic in cooperation with the American fleet, and her mercantile ships are being protected in their transatlantic voyages in the same way as are American ships. It is regarded possible that the presence of active German agents in an adjoining country might interfere with her program.

Much interest is felt here in the manner in which the people of Argentina will regard their government's attitude. There has developed among a large part of the people of the country a widespread pro-Ally sentiment.

## Critics of Pontiff Unfair, Says Paper

"Osservatore Romano" Indicates Pope Hoped for Favorable Reply

ROME (Tuesday), Aug. 28.—The "Osservatore Romano," the organ of the Vatican, prints a long article embodying a discussion of the objections made to the Pope's peace proposals, from which it would appear evident that the Pontiff hopes to obtain a favorable answer from the United States. It is intimated by the paper that any steps taken by the Pope are persistent misinterpretation and subjected to unfair criticism, and that the present proposal is no exception.

For instance, it is pointed out, the note has been criticized because the Pope has entered the realm of material things rather than spiritual, when, in fact, previous notes issued by him have fully covered things spiritual. It adds that the Vatican declares it cannot be accused of favoring the Germans, in the face of frequent denunciations by the Holy Father of the Belgian outrages and the bombardment of open cities.

Regarding the Pope's silence on the Balkan problem, it is further pointed out that the Pope cannot offer an immediate concrete solution of a question which has long troubled the statesmen of Europe. The Pope, however, in his note, suggests the substitution of the moral force of right for material force, and likewise compares passages in the statements of President Wilson to the Papal note regarding the freedom of the high seas as being identical.

With respect to the expenses of the war, the paper says that the present Russian policy is one of peace without annexations or indemnities, and that this policy has already been accepted by the Austro-Germans.

## Turkey Delaying Answer to Pope

COPENHAGEN, Aug. 29.—It will be ten days before the Central Powers answer the peace note of Pope Benedict, says the Berlin "Kreuz-Zeitung."

Negotiations regarding the note between Berlin and Vienna have been completed, the newspaper states, but are still in progress with Turkey. The view is held that the Central Powers will agree upon a joint reply.

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## Socialist and Labor Conference Fails

**Belgian Opposition to Stockholm Meeting Prevents an Agreement in London**

LONDON, Aug. 29.—The Inter-allied Socialist and Labor Conference to-day considered the reports of two commissions, one appointed to deal with the general question of the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, the other to report on the drafts of peace terms submitted by the various Socialist parties.

At yesterday's sitting the Russian delegates, who at first were present merely as spectators, expressed willingness to take part in the conference, as it is merely "consultative" and, therefore, binds no party.

The commission appointed to consider the Stockholm conference decided by a majority to recommend that all sections of the Socialist and labor organizations should be represented at this gathering, and voiced a protest against the decision of the conference to refuse passports to delegates.

The Belgians made a united protest against Socialist Entente countries attending the Stockholm conference.

It having been decided that the conference must be unanimous before any action could be taken, this protest of the Belgians and others, if persisted in, will leave the matter where it was before the London conference met.

An amendment by Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Munitions, that the enemy should not be met in conference while he is still in occupation of conquered territory and continues his barbarous conduct, was defeated.

The conference ended to-night after unanimously voting congratulations to Russia on the success of the revolution.

## Fight in Reichstag On Army Censors As Foes of Peace

AMSTERDAM, Aug. 29.—The main committee of the Reichstag discussed to-day resolutions to abolish the political censorship and to reestablish the right of assembly. A progressive speaker said the political censorship

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